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S P E E C H

—OF—

JOSEPH T. CROWELL,

OF UNION COUNTY,

IN THE

SENATE OF NEW JERSEY,

JANUARY 22, 1863,

ON THE MOTION TO POSTPONE INDEFINITELY

THE ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS

OFFERED BY

Hon. DANIEL HOLSMAN,

OF BERGEN.

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THE DEMOCRACY NOT SUBMISSIONISTS.

SPEECH OF JOS. T. CROWELL,

AGAINST THE ANTI-WAR RESOLUTIONS,

TRENTON, JANUARY 22, 1863.

MR. PRESIDENT: I shall vote for the motion to postpone these resolutions indefinitely. I shall give that vote on the ground that such disposition will be equal to their emphatic condemnation by the Senate. I take occasion, however, to say in this connection, that there are some points embraced in the resolutions which meet my approval: But the most important matter embraced, the peace propositions meet my unqualified disapprobation, and I propose at this time to express my views on the question.

MR. HOLSMAN here arose and raised a point of order that it was not proper to discuss the merits of the resolutions, on the motion to postpone indefinitely.

The President of the Senate decided the point not well taken, and that the Senator from Union was speaking in order.

I shall not attempt to affirm or controvert the wholesale charges in the resolutions of unconstitutionality, against almost every act of the administration—many of these acts I consider unwise and distasteful to a large portion of the people of the loyal States. That they were honestly deemed necessary to suppress the Rebellion, I cannot permit myself to doubt. Temporarily, they have produced a baneful result. Time alone can tell whether they will prove ultimately of any service in suppressing the Rebellion, or whether the salvation of our country will require a change of policy. As to the question of unconstitutionality, that is a matter for the Judiciary Department of the government to decide. The official acts of the Executive, and the laws of Congress, are the *supreme law of the land*, until decided as unconstitutional by the highest judicial tribunal.

I shall confine my remarks particularly to the assumption in these resolutions, "that the people of New Jersey and the gallant volunteers in the field *believe* the time for honorable pacification has arrived:" and to the propositions for "an armistice for six months, and the election of

delegates to a convention to discuss such measures of amicable settlement as shall be presented."

It is a libel on the people of New Jersey to assert "that they believe the time for honorable pacification has arrived." It is a libel on our gallant volunteers to assume them to be so spiritless and cowardly, as to believe "the time for peace has arrived," while the bayonets of traitors are pointed at their breasts; and should you pass these resolutions, you will hear from the brave soldiers of New Jersey the reverberations of a "dismal universal hiss."

What, Sir, has recently occurred to make pacification or proposals for peace more honorable now than when the Rebels commenced war against the best of governments? Have our armies re-occupied the Forts and Arsenal's belonging to the government? Have the laws of the Union been enforced in rebel States? Do the rebels agree to come back into the Union? Are they in favor of an armistice to arrange terms of remission? Certainly not.

And what evidence have we that the people of New Jersey, or her warriors, are in favor of dishonorable peace proposals while the rebels remain in the same rebellious attitude, and as defiant as ever? None, whatever.

The result of the recent elections, it has been said, was a condemnation of the war. I deny the assertion. The Democracy went into the late canvass as a WAR PARTY, IN FAVOR OF A MORE VIGOROUS PROSECUTION OF THE CONTEST, to restore the Union as it was and maintain the Constitution as it is. "When the rebels acknowledge the supremacy of the Constitution, and return to their allegiance to the Government, the war ought to cease." So said JOEL PARKER, our Governor, before the election. And the Convention which placed him in nomination unanimously

Resolved, "That in the present exigencies of the country, we extend to the National Administration our most cordial support for the speedy suppression of the Rebellion by all Constitutional means—and that the party stands as it has ever stood since the formation of the Government, for the Union, the Constitution, and enforcement of the Laws."

Notwithstanding the Democratic party was then fully committed to the policy of prosecuting the war until the supremacy of the Constitution was acknowledged in the rebellious States by the platforms of the party conventions and speeches in the canvass, yet as soon as the vote was announced, the Peace Democrats claimed the result of the election as an anti-war triumph. The Newark *Journal* of a recent date, in an article on the Democracy and the war, says that to "assume the Democratic citizens of the Central and Western States enlisted warmly in the war is a fallacy," and that the late elections had vindicated their true sentiment; and further the editor says:

"No one can doubt that the great Democratic party is to-day a pledged anti-war party, or that Governors Seymour and Parker are the legitimate representatives of this interest."

The politicians and editors who take this position are no new converts—they are the men who have denounced the war from the beginning, who adopted the fallacious doctrine of Buchanan that you could not coerce a State, and the equally pernicious heresy that the power of Secession was one of the reserved rights of the States. Peace resolutions, very like those before us, were adopted by the Breckinridge State Central Committee of New York; and there is a remarkable similarity to these resolutions, as will be seen by the following, adopted at Albany, in August, 1861 :

RESOLVED, That we advocate the proposition for an armistice between the now contending armies North and South, and the immediate convocation of a convention of delegates from all the States which acknowledged themselves members of the Union in November, 1860, to the end that all differences may be peacefully adjusted, our land saved from bloodshed and restored to peace, concord and union.

Similar resolutions were adopted at Peace meetings in our own State and Pennsylvania, and the organ of the Newark Democracy proclaimed itself for Peace, "because, if the North can conquer the South, our republican institutions and popular liberties will be swept away."

The claim that the recent elections have proven that the people are opposed to a further prosecution of the war cannot be sustained. A combination of causes produced the political revolution in the North. Excessive taxation, extravagant expenditures, arbitrary arrests of political offenders, the alleged abandonment of the object of the war to inaugurate a new crusade by the emancipation proclamation—the military failures, and the general want of confidence in the administration—these are the causes; and to me it appears the height of impudence for those anti-war men to assume the defeat of the administration as an approval of their Secessionism, or an endorsement of this Convention peace programme.

But it is argued, a Convention is necessary to guarantee the people of the South all their rights under the Constitution. It is no wonder the rebels ask us if we "are all natural-born fools." They told us when they seceded they would not remain in the Union if we would give them a blank sheet and let them dictate their own terms. The leaders of the rebellion have told us over and over that they had been working for disunion all their lives. In the House of Representatives, in December, 1860, when an effort was being made to raise a committee with the view of compromising the difficulties which threatened the country, Mr. HAWKINS, of Florida, said he would not vote to raise a committee for that purpose, "for I am opposed, and I believe my State is, to all and every compromise." Mr. SINGLETON, of Mississippi, said: "I was not sent here to make any compromise, or to patch up existing difficulties." Mr. MILES, of South Carolina, announced that "South Carolina would go out of the Union on the 17th instant." Mr. PUGH, of Alabama, said: "As my

State of Alabama intends following South Carolina out of the Union by the 10th of January next, I pay no attention to any action in this body."

During the same week, ALFRED IVESON, a Senator from Georgia, announced :

"You may taker the Constitution, if you please; you may propose concessions; you may suggest additional legislation; you may present a blitional constitutional securities; you may attempt by all these ingenious devices to stay the storm which now rages in the Southern States, to prevent that people from marching on to the deliverance and liberty upon which they are resolved; but, Sir, the words "too late" that ring here to-day will be reiterated from mountain to valley in all the South, and are now sounding the death knell of the Federal Union."

The declaration of the notorious YANCEY, in his speech in the State Convention of Alabama, is equally uncompromising. He said :

"I avow myself as utterly, unalterably, opposed to any and all plans of reconstructing a Union with the Back Republican States of the North. No new guarantees, no amendments of the Constitution, no peaceful resolutions, no repeal of offensive laws, can offer me any, the least inducement to reconstruct our relations with the non-slaveholding States."

All these declarations were made while the states in rebellion were preparing to secede. Two years have elapsed—two years of war, the most sanguinary. Thousands of lives have been sacrificed, and millions of treasure expended, and now a proposition is made for an armistice and a convention to discuss measures of amicable settlement.

And how are these propositions received by the Rebels? With contumely and scorn. They will recognize no propositions for peace except coupled with terms of separation; and no one can read the recent speeches of JEFFERSON DAVIS, in connection with the editorials of the Southern press, without concluding that further proffers of pacific propositions would be disgraceful and cowardly. DAVIS says they will not be the first to cry "hold, enough," and he must have had an inkling of these resolutions when he made the declaration. The Richmond *Dispatch* speaks in reference to the Brooks programme in the following complimentary style :

"Mr. Brooks appears to be in earnest in these extravagant propositions, strange as it may appear to any man who had possession of his senses; for, upon the occasion of presenting them, he made a long speech, and expressed himself confident of their success. Are the northern non-slaveholders born fools, or are they only stricken with that judicial madness which we are told the Yankees say is sent upon the victims of their wrath preparatory to their ruin? * * *

"If the whole South ever should fall down in the dust to-morrow and pray us to be their masters, we would spare them even as slaves. Our only wish is to be separated from them finally and forever, and for the benefit of one of them again—never to hear the voice of another Yankee on the southern side, the Pacific or the north—to have no traffic and no intercourse with any one coming west of the mountains. We are fighting for separation, and we will have it, if we can do nothing more in the Confederate States."

"We are conscious that many persons believe that the party of which Brooks and Van Buren are representatives, desire to restore peace, and that at present they dare not to speak for their true feelings, which are in favor of separation. They look only to their pockets when they speak of reconstruction and restoration. If the same object could be effected by entirely dividing the people of the southern states, and they thought it as easy to do, they

would recommend it as the best of all possible policy. Let them be satisfied, however. President Davis expressed the sentiment of the entire Confederacy in his speech the other night, when he said the people would sooner unite with a nation of hyenas than with the detestable and detested Yankee nation. Anything but that. English colonization, French vassalage, Russian serfdom, all, all are preferable to any association with the Yankees."

This is a strong dose, but Davis gives it to them just as strong, in language equally refined. From his speech to the Mississippi Legislature I quote the following choice extract :

Were it ever to be proposed again to enter into a Union with such a people, I could no more consent to do it than to trust myself in a den of thieves. Let no man hug the delusion that there can be renewed association between them. Our enemies are a traditionless and homeless race ; from the time of Cromwell to the present moment they have been disturbers of the peace of the world. Gathered together by Cromwell from the bogs and fens of the North of Ireland and of England, they commenced by disturbing the peace of their own country ; they disturbed Holland, to which they fled, and they disturbed England on their return. They persecuted Catholics in England, and they hung Quakers and witches in America.

MR. HOLSMAN again arose and protested that the Senator from Union was not in order.

MR. CROWELL contended he *was* in order, and in accordance with the decision of the Chair. That the Senator from Bergen was out of order in making a second objection after the decision of the Chair had been announced, and no appeal taken.

THE PRESIDENT, however, entertained the appeal at this stage, and put the question. The vote being taken, the decision of the Chair was not sustained, the Republicans, with Mr. Crowell, voting to sustain the decision of the chair, and every Democrat voting against the decision.

MR. CROWELL said he must submit to the decision of the Senate. It was a remarkable thing for a point of order to be decided by a strict party vote. It was something new for the gag law to be applied in the Senate of New Jersey. He should not trouble the Senate further on these resolutions. He would, however, publish to the people of New Jersey, what he was not allowed to speak in the Senate.

The following is the concluding portion of the Speech, and which was not delivered in the Senate :

The newspapers of the South as well as the Secession papers of the North, are abusing Governor Seymour for not commencing war on the Government at Washington ; and they will now probably open their paper batteries on Governor Parker. I cannot avoid giving another short extract from the Richmond *Whig*, for the edification of these peace-at-any-price patriots :

"The Yankees are very little better than Chinese. They lay the same stress on the jingle of their dollars that the Celestials do on the noise of their gongs. Originally endowed with no single amiable trait, they have cultivated the arts of money-getting and cheating, until gain has become their god, and they imagine it to be omnipotent. With money in their pockets won from a generous and chivalrous race, and multitudinous as Norway rats, they are swollen with conceit, and they fancied they were fit for empire. And yet they do not possess one gentlemanly attribute, nor a single talent that qualifies them for war."

At Vicksburg a public speaker warns the people against the Northern Conservative Editors, by telling them that :

"When peace is declared you will see them landing by hundreds at your levee, with their editorials and speeches in their hands; they will swarm through our land like locusts, eat up our substance, and follow one side the noble patriots who have sacrificed all for the cause. While we are shedding our blood, they are sitting in their easy chairs; let them remain there."

And how, Sir, do these defiant leaders, raise their armies? We would suppose that the men liable to military duty would in mass volunteer, if this ferocious spirit was so universal. But look at the reality. A despotic conscription act has been enforced over a year; and no man escapes unless he has a *protection paper* from the Consul of a foreign nation, or an exemption pass from the enrolling officers in his pockets. The bayonet performs the functions of recruiting officer for JEFFERSON DAVIS, as the guillotine did in France during the reign of blood. Sentinels are posted at the corners of the streets in Southern cities to kidnap every man who cannot give an account of himself and produce instantaneous proof of exemption. The *Richmond Whig* of June 9, makes merry over the manner in which men are caught to fight:

"Citizens of 'conscription age' have at length had the horrors of war brought home to their own doors, or, at least, if they venture a few steps outside their doors they find themselves surrounded by fearful bayonets and in danger of being carried off into captivity, with a pleasing prospect of \$11 a month and rations of bread and beef. Men of war are posted at the street corners, at hotel entrances, at the theatres, at every public place, and as the citizen comes along, intent upon business or pleasure, he is saluted with a peremptory "Halt! show your papers!" and if he can't produce them, off he goes to the rendezvous of patriots, to receive the first lessons in the art of serving his country. Thus "papers" have become quite an important item in the affairs of men, and we be to him who has failed to secure this evidence of his right to stay at home.

There is, I know, a feverish anxiety in the public mind in reference to the prosecution of the war, because of a want of confidence in the present managers to accomplish any result. Many honest patriots are led to believe that we cannot subdue the rebel States, and therefore might as well let them go. These men have not studied history or human nature. It would be better in the end for us to fight for twenty years, and either exterminate the rebels or be ourselves exterminated, than to consent to a temporary peace by separation. If we could not live amicably as one nation, with a Constitution guaranteeing the rights of all, how could we live divided without forever fighting about slaves, tariffs, boundaries, and a thousand matters of dispute that would inevitably arise between nations having fifteen hundred miles of borders. An army of one hundred thousand men would be constantly required to protect our capital. Free Trade would be the policy of the Southern Confederacy, and another army would be necessary to guard our borders from smugglers. We should be involved in disputes with the nations of Europe, and be compelled to humiliate ourselves by submitting to degrading indignities or exhausting our resources in mutual conflicts. There is but one course for us—we must fight this thing out: In

the language of the patriot Jackson, "at every hazard and at every sacrifice, this Union must be preserved."

The idea that we shall have a lasting peace by acknowledging the independence of the Rebels may be entertained by some, but JEFFERSON DAVIS is not one of them. In all his speeches before the people and in his messages he energetically urges military preparations on a large scale, for future security. "Cast your eyes forward," he says in his speech in Mississippi, "to that time at the end of the war when peace shall nominally be proclaimed—for *peace between us and our hated enemy will be liable to be broken at short intervals for many years to come*—cast your eyes forward to that time, and you will see the necessity for continued preparation and unceasing watchfulness."

But we may be told that it will be impossible to raise more troops, and that an attempt to enforce a draft will result in resistance on the part of the people. So far as New Jersey is concerned, I have no apprehensions on that score. If the patriotism of our people had not been chilled by the same causes which produced the recent political revolution, New Jersey would have kept up her credit balance on the muster rolls of the army. She is now far ahead of her sister States, New York and Pennsylvania. And when JOEL PARKER calls upon the people of New Jersey to furnish her quota of a new requisition, to be raised in compliance with Constitutional requirements of the General Government, and in accordance with the laws of our State, that call will be responded to, *and those laws enforced*.

The North is now a house divided against itself on this vital question. But this division is not caused by any material change in public sentiment in reference to the prosecution of the war against the rebels. It is not caused by a desire to give up the contest, and submit to a dismemberment of our country; it is not caused from despondency occasioned by the failure of our campaigns; it has been caused by the dissensions and jealousies in the cabinet and in the field; by the vacillating course of the President; by neglecting to pay our volunteers, leaving their families to starve or exist on the cold charity of the world; by sending our troops on dangerous voyages in unseaworthy hulks, to be cast away on inhospitable shores; by withholding news of battles, and sending false reports of pretended victories; by keeping colonies of troops and civilians in idleness at enormous expense on the Southern coasts; and by a general mismanagement in almost every department of the service.

The people of New Jersey having given an emphatic verdict against the Administration, the original anti-war Democrats claim the result as a peace triumph and ask an armistice. They do not embrace one tenth of the members of the party, for the great mass are for prosecuting the

war until the rebels submit to the authority of the laws, and will stand by the Government in all lawful means to crush the Traitors. Yet these infatuated and disloyal men are among us, appealing to the people to stop the war and let the rebels have full sway. If JEFFERSON DAVIS should enter Washington to-day with an invading army, many of these peace men would hold high carnival to-night and rejoice over the smoking ruins of the Capitol. They fill our lobbies and bluster in the bar-rooms—they "*see nothing but blood in their wine-glasses,*" and threaten, in their orgies, TO BRING WAR TO OUR OWN HEARTHSTONES, IF THIS WAR ON THE SOUTH IS CONTINUED MUCH LONGER. If such language is not treasonable, then nothing can be. I conceive all who use such vile speech as the blackest of traitors. They are traitors against the State,—traitors against the Nation, and traitors against God.—And if they escape punishment here, they,

" A thousand years from now,
Will sit pale ghosts upon the Stygian shore
And read their acts in the red light of hell."

" But, the Rebels will never surrender," we are told, " and we may as well make terms with them now, without further bloodshed." This is considered a potent argument by submissionists. I consider it the weakest and most cowardly. A rebel army surrenders when it is defeated and cannot escape. Revolutionists submit when they are conquered by the general defeat of their armies. The black flag is raised in editorial sanctums, but savages only, who expect and grant no quarter, fight under its sable folds. There is no record in modern history, where the vanquished have not submitted to the victors. There is no such record in ancient history, except where a surrender or submission involved death or personal slavery. The Numantines, who burned their houses, killed their wives and children, and destroyed themselves, rather than surrender to Scipio Africanus and be enslaved by the Romans, may excite the admiration, but will never be emulated by modern combatants.

" The Gordian knot is untied—the bond is broken, we cannot be reunited and live in amity," say the war men of the South and the peace men of the North. So long as the sparks fly upward, or the dews of Heaven descend, strife and discord will reign among men.

" Devil with devil damned, firm concord hold,
Men only disagree."

The people of the South have never entertained a sentiment of fraternity toward those of the Northern and Eastern States. They have always assumed to be of a superior race. Even the South Carolinians turn up their noses at their less pretentious neighbors of North Carolina. You cannot find a first class Virginian who is not either a lineal descen-

dant of Pocahontas or William the Conqueror. The ignorant among them, and they have their full share of that class, think the Blue Laws are yet in force, and that witches and Quakers are still burned in Connecticut.

In a country so extensive as ours, composed of people of different origin, diversified habits, and conflicting interests, we cannot expect fraternity; and when reunited, long years will be required to restore us to former fellowship. Yet the time will come—it may be in another generation; but if it is not until our children's children come upon the stage of life, they will bless us for transmitting a country and a nation to them, even at the expense of a temporary coercive Union.

Sir: I desire peace as anxiously as any man living, and I therefore wish the war more vigorously prosecuted, until we put down armed rebellion, and the supremacy of the Constitution is acknowledged. We are certain to have perpetual war and perpetual taxation until that period arrives.

"Base, indeed the nation
That for its honor ventures not its all."

And base indeed the citizen who would discountenance the prosecution of a war for the existence of the nation, because the contest was not prosecuted in accordance with the policy of his party. I disapprove of many of the acts of the Administration, and think monstrous blunders have been committed; but to stop the war now would involve the destruction of the nation, and be the death blow to Republican institutions. We must conquer a peace or surrender our liberties. There is no other alternative, and when the rebels are compelled to submit to the authority of the laws and acknowledge the supremacy of our Constitution, then only and not till then, would I permit them to return on fair and honorable conditions; but until that period arrives I for one am for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and wish to be classified with the great, loyal masses of the people who, as I believe, have pronounced themselves WAR DEMOCRATS.



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